In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Clpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gī·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gī·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sages and tales. The address ti //nan/b or ti //nan/oa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with tI'Gâb or ti. ta, and its mother with ti ai or ai·ai: my father! my mother! The expressions //ais. b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Kaffir Bushmen address their parents ta·a/b and ta·a/oa. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa ta·a/b, thy father etc.

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[693] [551] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gaa-kaib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauas, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chiefainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

[693] [695] The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief *ex-officio* and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Berseba Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartbooie nine, and the Witbooie from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onder-kapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, in Christians, the elders [693] of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-con-[817] stituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

[1] Theobald (op. cit., 40) and, following him, Fritsch (op. cit., 366) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The successor Joshua Abrahams, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager as successor to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (Cloete [1864], 100), was not the eldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes far from entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the rightful heir seeking shelter in different places, while Joshua with his adherents later obtained from Lieut.-Gov. Wade the farm Pella, Cradock Afrikaner and his Tribe, *P.P.* 1836 (36), Enc. No. 3, 70.]

[2] Wallace, op. cit., 173. Cf. Hahn (Tsaobis [Khomas], 1958): "If a chief died, it often happened that his youngest wife became the guardian (custodian) of the grandson, the ruling successor. As the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

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affairs, and they can sit as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrates or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at ceremonial meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the observations given of this by von François, op. cit., pp. 108.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," [illegible]
[3] Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, 1821, pp. [illegible]; cf. also Schmelen & J. Aylmer, op.

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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Namas under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the Hoikoms, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1892, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] Papers on the Relations of L.M.S., 70, &c.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by von François, op. cit. pp. 170-201; Papers on the Relations of L.M.S., 83 seqq., 96; Knöll, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," passim.

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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gaiǂo eaga*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gaiǂo eaga*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 751 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [439] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 648 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 125. [4] Op. cit., 134.